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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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FOR ASST. SEC. EASUM

FOL SECSTATE 233453 SENT ACTION LONDON PARIS GABORONE MASERU MBABANE
LOURENCO MARQUES LAUNDA LISBON CAPE TOWN DURBAN JOHANNESBURG
PRETORIA OCTOBER 23 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, SF, PO, MZ, AO, RH, WA

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN "TILT" STORIES PERSIST

REFERENCE: A. STATE 231309; B. STATE 230955 (NOTAL);

C. PRETORIA 4646 (NOTAL)

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF JACK ANDERSON ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN
WASHINGTON POST OCTOBER 22: QUOTE STATE RESISTED KISSINGER
AFRICA POLICY - THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS SOLEMNLY DENIED
OUR STORY THAT SECRETARY HENRY A. KISSINGER'S FIRST TILT
WAS TOWARD THE WHITE SUPREMACIST NATIONS OF SOUTHERN
AFRICA.

2. ALTHOUGH WE HAD REQUESTED COMMENT FOUR DAYS EARLIER, THE
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STATE DEPARTMENT WAITED TO RESPOND UNTIL OUR STORY APPEARED.

IT 'TAKES A LITTLE STRAINING,' SAID A SPOKESMAN, 'TO SAY WE HAVE TILTED TOWARD THE WHITE REGIMES OF AFRICA.'

3. THIS IS PRECISELY THE COMMENT OUR AFRICAN POLICY DOCUMENTS CALLED FOR. KISSINGER, WHO ALSO HEADS THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, PERSONALLY SELECTED AS U.S. POLICY THE SECOND OPTION IN THE SECRET NATIONAL SECURITY MEMORANDUM 39. THE UNITED STATES 'WOULD MAINTAIN PUBLIC OPPOSITION TO RACIAL REPRESSION BUT RELAX POLITICAL ISOLATION AND ECONOMIC RESTRICTIONS ON THE WHITE STATES.'

4. KISSINGER CHANGED AMERICAN POLICY FROM 'BASIC OPPOSITION' TO 'PUBLIC OPPOSITION' TOWARD RACIAL REPRESSION IN THE WHITE-RULED AFRICAN COUNTRIES. HE CHANGED THE EXISTING POLICY OF 'CORRECT RELATIONS' TO A 'QUIET' POLICY OF MORE RELAXED RELATIONS.

5. PREVIOUSLY THE UNITED STATES HAD ENFORCED A STRICT ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST THE WHITE SUPREMACISTS AND KEPT OFFICIAL CONTACTS TO A MINIMUM.

6. BUT AFTER KISSINGER CHANGED THE POLICY, THE UNITED STATES APPROVED THE SALE OF AIRCRAFT TO SOUTH AFRICA; SOLD PORTUGAL SOME BOEING 707S THAT WERE USED TO FERRY TROOPS TO HER WHITE COLONIES; ALLOWED UNION CARBIDE TO IMPORT CHROME FROM RHODESIA; ATTEMPTED TO RETAIN A CONSULATE IN SALISBURY, RHODESIA; AND VETOED MORE STRINGENT SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

7. THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IN ALL FAIRNESS, RESISTED THE CHANGES WHICH WERE FORCED UPON THEM BY KISSINGER'S AIDES IN THE BASEMENT OF THE WHITE HOUSE. KISSINGER WAS SO DISTURBED AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, IN FACT, THAT HE DIDN'T TRUST IT TO COMMUNICATE THE NEW POLICY TO SOUTH AFRICA. INSTEAD, HE TOOK THE EXTRAORDINARY STEP OF SENDING THE MESSAGE THROUGH AN INFLUENTIAL COLUMN IN SOUTH AFRICA'S JOHANNESBURG STAR.

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8. 'OUT OF THE BLUE,' THE STAR'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT KEN OWEN NOW REVEALS, 'I WAS SUMMONED TO THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING BESIDE THE WHITE HOUSE AND ASKED IF I WOULD USE MY REGULAR COLUMN OF COMMENT ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS IN THE STAR TO CONVEY A MESSAGE DIRECTLY TO PRETORIA (SOUTH AFRICA CAPITAL).'

9. OWEN TOLD MY ASSOCIATE JOE SPEAR THAT HE SPOKE TO A

KISSINGER AIDE WHO GAVE HIM A FULL BRIEFING ON THE NEW POLICY. HE ASKED 'TO EMPHASIZE THE NECESSITY FOR PRETORIA TO RESPOND IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD PROTECT PRESIDENT NIXON'S FLANK FROM BLACK AFRICA, FROM NEGRO GROUPS AND FROM THE PROFESSIONAL ANTIAPARTHEID LOBBY.'

10. OWEN CLAIMED THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S PROFESSIONALS REGAINED THE ASCENDANCY OVER AFRICAN POLICY AFTER KISSINGER BECAME ABSORBED BY THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT AND WATERGATE.

11. THE TILT TOWARD THE WHITE REGIMES, HE SAID, 'STILL REMAINS TECHNICALLY THE AMERICAN POLICY, BUT IT HAS BECOME A POSTURE INSTEAD OF A PROCESS.'

12. FOOTNOTE: WE HAVE CHECKED OUT KEN OWEN'S STORY WITH OUR HIGH-LEVEL SOURCES WHO CONFIRM HIS ACCURACY. UNQUOTE.

13. FYI: THE COPY OF NSSM 39, PARTS OF WHICH ARE CONTINUING TO APPEAR IN THE PRESS INCLUDING, NOW, THE PRETORIA NEWS AND JOHANNESBURG STAR, IS APPARENTLY A PRELIMINARY DRAFT DATED AUGUST 1969 HAVING 71 PAGES, PLUS APPENDICES, AND 5 OPTIONS. THE FINAL DRAFT OF NSSM 39 HAS 57 PAGES, PLUS APPENDICES, 6 OPTIONS, AND IS DATED DECEMBER 1969. OPTION 2 AS PUBLISHED BY TAD SZULC IS NOT GREATLY DIFFERENT THAN THE FINAL DRAFT, BUT OBVIOUSLY THE ADDITION OF A SIXTH OPTION CAUSED SOME REWRITING OF THE OTHER OPTIONS IN THE STUDY. INGERSOLL UNQUOTE
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